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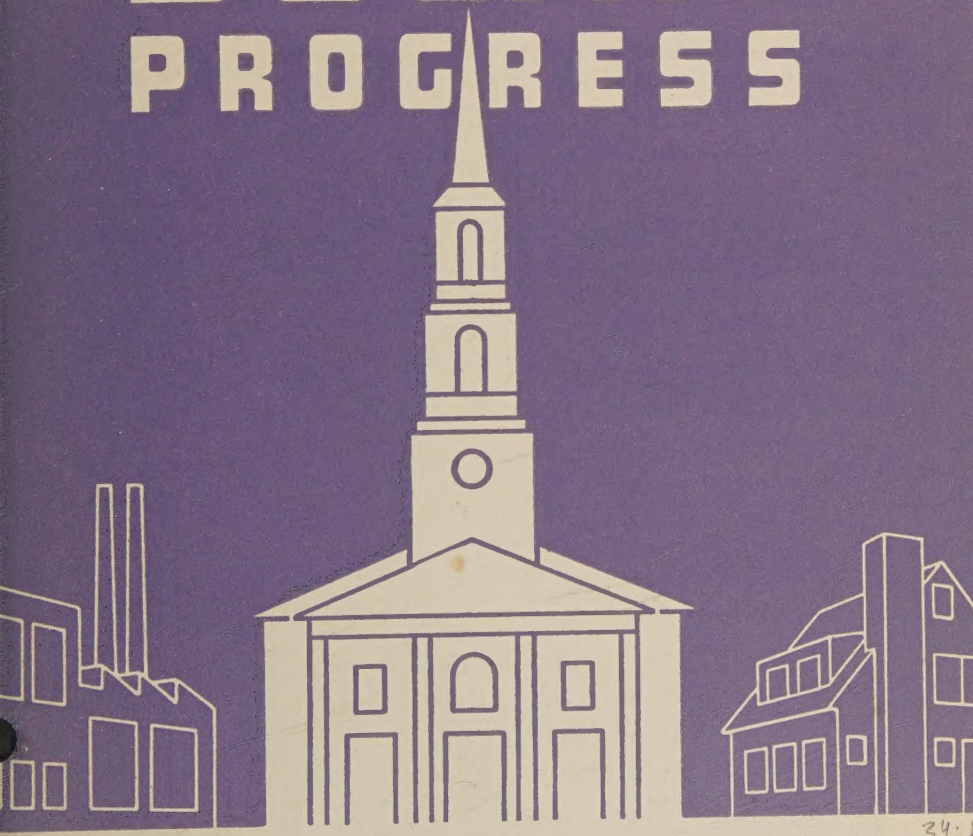

Easter Faces Forward

What Will the Church Say About Labor?

Teen Trouble

APRIL 1944

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Social Progress

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SOCIAL PROGRESS

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Easter Faces Forward

By Cornelius M. Muilenburg *

THE Easter message has imparted to every age a divine quality of creative inspiration. It has endowed every human capacity with that power which works for the advancement of the Kingdom of God on earth. The meaning and promise of Easter speak with particular persuasiveness to the human situation in which we, today, find ourselves.

The tragedy of our time has compelled countless lives to carry a variety of burdens. The soldier at the front faces the threat of death. Civilians live under the constant pressure of worry over the welfare of relatives in the battle areas. Many an individual conscience, sensitized and guided by the Sermon on the Mount, faces the fact that, in war as well as in peace, all are "bound in the bundle of life." Directly or indirectly, every member of society must participate in a program that seeks victory by destructive physical force. Morally we find ourselves at the side of the pilot as he undertakes a bombing mission to Germany.

Many, working seven days a week and worn by the strain, must face the barrage of criticism directed at labor. Some are suffering under the tension of guilt as they try to reconcile their desire to profit with their impulse to sacrifice. Others are bewildered and embittered as they listen to fellow Americans speak with contempt of all whose skins do not happen to be white.

Those who have invested time, money, and dreams in behalf of social betterment face disillusionment. Cynicism often appears to be the only possible response to the grim events of our day. Morality seems to have but little to do with history. Natural law apparently has no guarantee implicit within it that either

* Minister, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Lansing, Michigan.

right or goodness shall survive. It is all too easy to let tragedy submerge all that gives life meaning.

One basic fact, however, must be acknowledged by all. Despite the apparently mindless, impassive power of earthquake, famine, and flood; despite the grim reality of pestilence, which attacks without discrimination; despite the defeat of high moral endeavor, the human race is not going to abandon this planet. Be the toll of history's victims ever so high, the survivors will rise and continue to live, be it as pessimist or optimist. We shall rebuild desolated cities, whether to perpetuate slum areas or to create cities dedicated to the welfare of all.

But cynicism tries to frustrate, even though it cannot destroy, our will to live. Easter speaks here with deathless meaning. The message of the risen Christ promises power which will make it possible for us to rebuild our blasted cities.

Easter extends its blessing to all. It does not demand previous success or require physical health. Its beauty and power do not require an unbroken family circle or a history of ideal human relationships. Neither does the glory of Easter survive by ignoring those brutal facts which constitute the problem of evil.

The power and promise of Easter rise out of the grimmest realism. Among the great symbols that inspire our worship are a manger and a tomb. Both are sources of creative power. Yet, along the way that connected the manger with the tomb, we see God at work in Jesus, confronting all those destructive forces in nature and in man which today constitute the hazard of life.

Human sin sent Christ to the cross. Man, inspired by evil motives, used natural law to accomplish the crucifixion. Natural law co-operated as completely as it co-operates with Hitler today—or with Albert Schweitzer. The laws that combined to produce the crucifixion did not apparently care who were on those three crosses. Jesus was crucified as completely as the two malefactors.

Our human situation is much the same today. A bullet operates without regard for character. Evil, implemented by sufficient power, seems to triumph. The universe appears to co-operate as fully with the forces seeking social unrighteousness as with any other forces. The fact that Jesus was the noblest spirit known to earth appeared to make no difference. The universe manifestly did not recognize or champion character.

But Christ rose out of the ruin and defeat of Calvary. He rose to face the future with undiscouraged spirit and undissuaded purpose. The cross, far from destroying him, multiplied his power. The will of our Lord to build the Kingdom of God on earth was in no wise weakened by Calvary. The power of our Lord to inspire progress toward that Kingdom was not lessened by the cross.

An old question asks, "What did Caesar care that a peasant mother in Bethlehem held a baby in her arms one night?" Caesar did not care. Caesar did not even know. The event was inconspicuous. What was conspicuous to Caesar was the fact of a mighty empire, capable of producing irresistible power. Yet the power within that Child has outlived, outworked, outlasted that of Caesar. The living Christ rises out of the bloody turbulence of the centuries, battered, repudiated, resisted, but alive. Unwearied, he faces forward. Christian martyrs in concentration camps, eagerly availing themselves of the power of the risen Christ, defy the forces of paganism. We, the unbombed and uninvaded, must seize for ourselves that power to attack the force of cynicism. We, the unstarved, are challenged to attack moods that beget a paralyzing sense of futility. Our contemporary Christ challenges us: "Give me your will to live. I will inspire and fortify that will in behalf of a Christian world."

The living Christ makes possible the most vitally important accomplishment life affords. Man, in terms of the redemption of Christ, can use even the tragedy of our riven world for high purposes. Precisely in that fact is defined one indispensable quality of true Christian faith.

Josiah Royce defined faith as that insight into the nature of reality which enables a man to stand anything that may happen to him in the universe. That definition must be challenged. Christian faith is rather that insight into the nature of reality, inspired by the revelation of Christ, which enables a man to use anything that may happen to him in the universe for the advancement of the Kingdom of God on earth.

One afternoon, answering my doorbell, I faced a young man whose body was so deformed that I gasped in involuntary shock. He said, "May I talk with you about our work?" He had invested his life in the program of the League for the Handicapped. When he spoke of "our work," his eyes glowed with a light that sent into eclipse the initial message of his blighted body. His affliction had become a program; his twisted body, an investment in social betterment; his apparent curse, a stewardship. That is the indispensable quality of the Easter faith—a faith that can transform the defeat, the sorrow, and the tragedy of life into creative purpose.

Lin Yutang has written: "There is more hope in a heather rose than in all the tons of Teutonic philosophy." Teutonic philosophy can destroy, spreading the ruin wide. It can impede the progress of justice, of brotherhood. But it cannot create.

But the Christian who, with Paul, has caught the eternal glory of the risen Christ can say with him: "I know how to be abased, and I know also how to abound. . . . I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me."

Russia's Conflict with the Vatican

By Vera Micheles Dean *

THE assertion of *Izvestia* on February 1 that the foreign policy of the Vatican has disillusioned Catholics throughout the world and "earned the hatred and contempt of the Italian masses for supporting Fascism" has, understandably, aroused widespread discussion in this country. The *Izvestia* article linked its allegations to a report, *Foreign Policy of the Vatican*, published on January 15 by the Foreign Policy Association. Since it is unlikely that copies of this report had reached Moscow by February 1, it must be assumed that the *Izvestia* article was based on newspaper dispatches concerning the report which gave wide publicity to its contents both in this country and abroad. As several leading Catholic organs, notably *America*, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference have pointed out, some of the news stories did not give an entirely rounded version of the F. P. A. report. One of the main conclusions of the report, in direct contradiction to the *Izvestia* article, reads as follows: "The view that the Pope is at heart a Fascist and wishes to see the triumph of modern dictatorships, while a long sequence of superficial evidence can be constructed to support it, proves to be without foundation in fact. At the same time, he is not a supporter of democracy but is just what he claims to be—indifferent to political forms, accepting any government which will meet the minimum demands of the Church."

Political Issues at Stake

No organization that undertakes to discuss a subject so controversial and so charged with varied emotions as the foreign policy of the Vatican can possibly expect to escape criticism from all sides. What to one person may appear unfair aspersions may seem to another an attempt at whitewashing. In fact, one of the most disturbing aspects of our times is the apparent impossibility for large sections of people to listen with any degree of reasonableness to views with which they do not happen to agree. Amid the welter of arguments and counterarguments aroused by discussion of the Vatican's foreign policy, three points should be borne in mind:

1. Any questions that are raised by responsible students of international affairs regarding the position of the Vatican concern, not the spiritual leadership of the Pope or the content of Catholic beliefs, but the political influence that the Pope

* Director of Research, Foreign Policy Association, Inc., New York City. Reprinted, with permission, from the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, February 18, 1944.

unquestionably exercises as spiritual leader of millions of Catholics. If other religious organizations—the Church of England, or the Methodists, or the Greek Orthodox Church—had a Secretariate of State like the Vatican, and maintained representatives of diplomatic rank in foreign capitals, their views and pronouncements would be similarly open to public discussion.

2. The Soviet Government's recurring attacks on the Vatican—which, in the form in which they are often couched, cannot but hurt the sensitiveness of many religious people whatever their faith—are due first and foremost to Moscow's opposition to the political influence of the Vatican. This influence, the Soviet leaders feel—and with justification—has often been used against the U.S.S.R. during the past quarter of a century. The fact that Russia is now at odds with Poland, a predominantly Catholic country, has recently envenomed this long-standing conflict, and at least in part explains the fierceness of the broadside delivered by *Izvestia.*

3. The Vatican's hostility toward the Soviet Government, of which there is also no doubt, has been due first and foremost to the treatment meted out by Soviet authorities to religious organizations and to the ruthless attacks directed before 1941 by such Soviet organizations as The Godless against all outward manifestations of religious sentiment. Fear that what happened in Russia after 1917 might be repeated in other countries where political groups influenced by Soviet doctrines were active unquestionably had a profound influence on the policy of the Vatican toward Mussolini, Hitler, and, especially, Franco.

U.S.S.R. Determined to Win Now

What has now crystallized all these long-run trends is the determination of the Soviet Government to bring the war with Germany to an end this year, if at all possible. While the United States, and in lesser measure Britain, might conceivably afford to go on fighting for an indeterminate period, since their productive capacities have not been destroyed by the enemy, that is not true of the U.S.S.R. and—what may prove most important for the future of Europe—it is even less true of the conquered countries. The unremitting way in which the Soviet Government has been lashing out since the Teheran Conference at all of Hitler's voluntary or involuntary satellites—Spain, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Finland—indicates its determination to shatter Germany's political front as the Russian armies are shattering German military resistance. To the extent that the Vatican, in its opposition to the anticlericalism of the Loyalists, has displayed sympathy for Franco, it too has become an object of Russian attack. The militant "we or they" tone of the Soviet press

reflects the heightened tension of a country which for nearly three grueling years has been engaged in a life-and-death struggle, and does not intend to let anyone or anything stand in the way of its termination.

In the heat of verbal battle, Soviet spokesmen have made statements about the Vatican that are historically unconvincing. *Izvestia* denounces the Vatican for maintaining relations with the Hitler and Mussolini Governments. But before 1939 all the great powers maintained relations, including Russia, which, far from breaking off with the Reich at the start of World War II, concluded the Russo-German pact of nonaggression in the hope of postponing Nazi attack on its territory. Nor did the Vatican have at its disposal the material power commanded by countries like Britain, Russia, and the United States. Judged by secular standards, then, the Vatican may be said to have shown no more, but certainly no less, courage and prevision than these three great powers, which are not predominantly Catholic.

The Vatican Vulnerable

On the spiritual plane, however, it could be argued that the Vatican, because of its opposition to the anti-religious character of the Soviet Government, tended to favor individuals and movements that claimed to be fighting Communism. In the process it did not give sufficient weight to the fact that much of the unrest throughout the world that was labeled Communism actually resulted from deep-seated maladjustments that several Popes of modern times have repeatedly recognized, urging secular society to correct them through timely reforms. Yet when such reforms did not take place—as for example in Spain—and frustrated people sought to achieve long-overdue changes by revolution, the Vatican cast its political influence on the side of those who claimed to be fighting not only revolution, but also anticlericalism. This trend has laid the Vatican open to criticism from quarters other than Moscow. And that is why many people who are deeply religious, and have nothing but the most profound respect for the high moral courage displayed by members of the Catholic hierarchy in Europe, most recently in the precincts of the Vatican itself, hope that at this critical hour the Vatican will incontrovertibly place itself on the side of the suffering and disinherited millions who see nothing incompatible between religious belief and social change.

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What Will the Church Say About Labor?

By Cameron P. Hall *

THE 154th General Assembly in 1942 took a historic step in the history of Church-labor relationships. On the recommendation of its Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, the Assembly directed that a special study of the Church and industry be made. Now after two years a report of that study will be presented to the 156th General Assembly, comprised of commissioners coming from every presbytery in the Church, in every section of the country, and representing, as the Churches themselves do, every shade of opinion of management, labor, and the general public.

What will the Church say about organized labor? No one can say now. But when the Assembly acts upon this report its pronouncement will be a declaration of the mind of the Presbyterian Church on one of the most dynamic and important questions of this war period. It will be another step in the establishment of a significant relationship between the Presbyterian Church and organized labor, begun in 1910. In that year the General Assembly's Special Committee on Social Problems recognized organized labor and capital as authentic factors in industrial relations when it referred to "the application of Christian principles to the conduct of industrial organizations, whether of labor or capital."

From 1910 to 1920, no official pronouncement beyond this simple recognition was made by the Church on the question of organized labor. But the growing consciousness in the Church of the fundamental rightness of the labor movement and of collective bargaining as a democratic procedure in the settlement of worker-management problems was evident in 1920 when the General Assembly reaffirmed the forward-looking statement of 1910 and went on to declare "for the right of wage earners to organize and to deal through their chosen representatives with the management of industries in which they work, because an adequate representation of all parties (labor, capital, management, and the public) in industry is needed for production and to secure attention for the human factors involved." Remembering the date line, we appreciate now that that was a memorable statement representing the prophetic vision and courage of our Church at its best.

That statement has been reaffirmed by many subsequent General Assemblies: The Assembly declared in 1932 "the right of employees and employers alike to organize for collec-

* Director of the Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

tive bargaining and social action" and again in 1934; in 1937 "the principle of collective bargaining has for many years been accepted as one of the principles of our Church for the more effective solution of labor problems"; in 1939 "as believers in the worth of labor organizations and rejoicing in what has been accomplished by them on behalf of workers." Today the right of labor as well as management to organize for collective bargaining is well established not only in the thinking of the Church but in national public policy as indicated by the legal sanction given by the American people through Congress.

Organized labor has grown from a small, fragmentary, and struggling movement to a position of power and influence. The twelve to thirteen million members of organized labor constitute a new group whose purposes and activities are of great national importance and of Christian concern.

Organized labor is exerting itself in new ways to achieve better understanding and co-operation with organized religion. Now the problems of demobilization are just ahead; in fact they already confront us as thousands of men return to civilian life, honorably discharged from the armed services. The stress and strain of such times bear heavily upon those who seek employment. Postwar demoralization gives haven to the ignorant and the scheming in reference to labor. The current disposition in some quarters to set the man in uniform against the man in overalls is a sinister suggestion of what may happen later.

All this confronts the people of the Churches with a new and pressing necessity to determine and express with all candor their positions as Christians in relation to organized labor. Accordingly, the General Assembly in 1942, upon the recommendation of its Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, directed that a study and report of industrial relations be made, and assigned that task to the Department of Social Education and Action, which, at the time of its organization by the Assembly in 1936, had been charged with responsibility in this area of Christian concern.

In undertaking this important assignment, the Department considered how such a study could be made to yield the most significant results to the Church and how the process itself, as well as the conclusions of this study, could contribute most fully to the need of the Church.

The answer seemed to lie in bringing together Presbyterians, representative of both management and labor, as being most immediately related to the subject under study, and adding to their number others from the public and the ministry, that this Advisory Committee might be significantly representative of the best thinking and experience to be found in the membership of the Church.

The following list of those who

have served the Department of Social Education and Action in this advisory capacity testifies to the fulfillment of these requirements:*

The Chairman: Douglas P. Falconer,* Executive Director, United Seamen's Service, Brooklyn, New York.

From Management: H. S. Kendall, Executive, Dow Chemical Company, Midland, Michigan; T. G. Sinclair, Secretary-Treasurer, Kingan Packing Company, Indianapolis, Indiana; Frazier D. MacIver, Vice-President, Phoenix Hosiery Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Nelson Graves, President, Barcalo Manufacturing Company, Buffalo, New York.

From Labor: Thomas L. Jones,* Vice-President, International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Detroit, Michigan; Alfred Hoffmann, First Vice-President, American Federation of Hosiery Workers, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; John Ramsay, Organizer, United Steelworkers of America, Columbus, Ohio; Clifford Moore, Business Agent of Teamsters' Local, Detroit, Michigan.

From the Public: S. Howard Patterson, Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; John A. Dunlop, Instructor in Economics, Harvard, and on executive staff of the War Labor Board, Washington, D.C.; Isabel Wallace, Freshman Counselor and Instructor in Economics, Rochester University, Rochester, New York; Lucy P. Carner, Executive, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago, Illinois.

From the Ministry: R. Worth Frank, Department of Religion, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; Paul S. Heath,* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Kalamazoo, Michigan; Ray Freeman Jenney, Minister, Bryn Mawr Community Church, Chicago, Illinois.

Consultants: Excellent help was also rendered by James Myers, Industrial Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, New York, New York; Laurence T. Hosie, Director, Labor Temple, New York, New York; and Henry D. Jones, Director, Dodge Community House, Detroit, Michigan.

These Presbyterians have spent six full days in three two-day meetings. They first came together as strangers with backgrounds and positions in the industrial field quite diverse. They probed deeply into the issues about which opposing opinions are strongly held. They reached a body of agreement on these issues, not by the yielding of convictions, but by perseverance in finding a common ground through mutual respect and understanding. These findings are now under careful study and consideration by the Committee on Social Education and Action and the report requested from the Department of Social Education and Action will be ready for submission to the 156th General Assembly in May.

The report, as finally adopted by the 156th General Assembly, will become the official pronouncement of the Church on this dynamic question of industrial relationships. That statement, available in such form as the General Assembly may direct, will be studied and discussed not only by the membership of the Church but by organized labor, management, and other interested groups.

* An asterisk denotes membership on the Committee of Social Education and Action.

Delinquent Communities

By Frederic M. Thrasher *

THE movies are currently performing a real public service in calling attention to the serious problem of juvenile delinquency in America. Not only are they directing public interest to a consideration of the causes of delinquency, but they are also suggesting remedies which may be found useful in treatment and prevention. Such films as March of Time's *Youth in Crisis* and R. K. O.'s *Children of Mars*, which are documentaries, and Monogram's full-length feature *Where Are Your Children?* starring Jackie Cooper and Gale Storm, have all presented excellent treatments of the subject and are sound both from the standpoint of criminology and of public education for delinquency control.

It is difficult to present such a complex subject as juvenile delinquency either in the documentary film or a full-length feature because of the limitations of space and time as well as the complicated nature of the subject matter, if a truly scientific discussion of the subject is to be given. An added difficulty grows out of the necessity of dramatizing material and making it effective for entertainment or educational purposes. But the problem is of such great importance that it needs to be treated by every available medium of communication.

Although there is some debate as to the extent of the increase of juvenile delinquency resulting from the war, all authorities are agreed that it is widely prevalent and is particularly troublesome in communities affected by war industries or other changes brought about by war conditions.

It is generally a fact that adult criminals are drawn from the ranks of juvenile delinquents. They have often developed their criminal careers in the crime-breeding areas of country, town, and city where community organization has broken down and the ordinary institutions of social control—family, school, Church, recreational agencies, local government, et cetera—are not functioning well. Clifford R. Shaw, in his famous studies of delinquency areas and the natural histories of criminal careers, has shown that juvenile delinquency of this type is concentrated in slum areas in all types of American communities. In these areas traditions of delinquency and crime have developed, and there is an absence of counteracting wholesome influences.

* Professor of Education, New York University; member of the Committee on Crime Prevention, American Prison Association. Condensed with permission from *New Movies*, National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, Inc., 1944.

But there is another type of delinquency. This is the unofficial delinquency which is prevalent in middle-class and well-to-do communities but which does not get onto the police blotter or into the juvenile court records. Here again we may see delinquency as a result of the breakdown of community organization and a failure of home, school, Church, recreational, and other agencies to function effectively.

In the delinquency area of the deteriorated type, there is a juvenile and adolescent community which is independent of home, school, Church, and adult control. This usually is centered in the gangs and social and athletic clubs which provide for the social needs of children and adolescents in the absence of such provision by the adult culture. In the middle-class and well-to-do communities there is an analogous adolescent culture which is independent of the adult community and which serves a similar function. It is very difficult in these communities for the Church, school, and home to break into this adolescent complex and bring about redefinitions of conduct that are approved by the community. The adolescent culture makes its own definitions, and the younger children as they grow older are assimilated to undesirable patterns of conduct set for them by their older friends.

The delinquencies of the middle-class and well-to-do communities include extensive larceny, burglaries, sexual irregularities, arson, widespread vandalism, and offenses connected with the illegal use of automobile and gasoline. A striking point of difference between the delinquencies of this group and those of children in the deteriorated areas is the prevalence of violence or offenses against the person in the latter, where fighting, stabbing, mugging, and various kinds of assault are general.

The gangsters, racketeers, and professional criminals are for the most part the product of delinquent careers begun in deteriorated areas, but it is well known that by far the most expensive crimes in America are those committed by the white-collar criminals—sale of fraudulent securities, forgery, embezzlement, graft. These criminals, there is strong reason to believe, represent a residue from the juvenile delinquency of the more privileged communities.

That crime prevention cannot be restricted to the slum and crime-breeding area in the common sense of the term is obvious to any student of the subject. It is also obvious that the remedy in the privileged area in general is similar to that applied in the less-privileged sections of society, namely, a community approach to the problem and community reorganization and co-ordination of all preventive forces.

This co-ordination can be brought about through the local community

council, the council of social agencies, or an independent co-ordinating council. The community can thus mobilize its preventive forces and present a solid front in dealing with the manifold causes of delinquency. Like disease, delinquency has innumerable causes many of which work together in a single case to produce the offense.

Perhaps the most hopeful method of attack from a community standpoint is the proper development of a program of wholesome spare-time activity which will more or less completely occupy the leisure of the children and young people.

It is obvious that the home should play a large part in organizing the leisure time of young people, but the simple fact is that the home in general has failed and is failing, and that the Church is doing little along these lines except in unusual cases. Nor is the school awake to its responsibility. Yet the school is the logical agency to take the lead, because it is the only agency that touches all the children and is supposedly manned by experts who have insight into the problems of child behavior. But how many schools think in terms of programs extending beyond three o'clock in the afternoon, or of the whole community rather than their own program?

However, a very hopeful avenue of approach to this problem is illustrated in the Manhasset, New York, Youth Council, which first became aware of the seriousness of the problem of juvenile delinquency in Manhasset after seeing March of Time's *Youth in Crisis* in which the Manhasset young people themselves enacted the "juke box" sequence. These young people were so inspired by the necessity for doing something about this problem that they formed a Youth Council for the Prevention of Delinquency. Their idea was that this council should represent all religious groups and all races—an idea embodied in their selection of officers and their general invitation to all young people between the ages of 14 and 18 to become charter members.

They soon dropped the words "for the prevention of delinquency" and now call themselves the Manhasset Youth Council. At the bottom of their stationery they have indicated their purpose: "To promote co-operation among young people for the service of the entire community." They have active committees to deal with the problem of the sale of liquor to minors, vandalism and disturbances in the local motion-picture theaters, and the development of a more extensive program of wholesome recreation for children and young people in the community.

They are planning to publish a 1944 yearbook which will present the problem of juvenile delinquency, the various community resources for dealing with it, and steps that should be taken for the prevention of future delinquency in Manhasset.

The Congressional Mill

*By Benson Y. Landis**

The following is a digest of pending bills and recent Congressional actions reported in Information Service, *February 19, 1944.*

Subsidies

The Senate has voted 43 to 28 to pass the bill, S. 1458, sponsored by Senator John H. Bankhead, of Alabama, which would continue the Commodity Credit Corporation but prohibit, after June 30, most subsidies now being paid by the CCC for the purpose of reducing consumer prices for food. President Roosevelt is expected to veto this bill. The companion bill is H.R. 3477, sponsored by Representative Henry B. Steagall, of Alabama, which passed the House late in 1943.

Most groups of organized agriculture oppose "consumer subsidies" and prefer instead higher prices for farm products generally, while organized labor strongly supports consumer subsidies.

It is generally believed that, in the Senate at least, there will not be enough votes to override a Presidential veto. Thus the Commodity Credit Corporation would again have to be continued without the prohibition against consumer subsidies, as was done in June, 1943.

The proposal of Senators George D. Aiken, of Vermont, and Robert M. La Follette, Jr., of Wisconsin, for a "food stamp plan," in S. 1331, as an amendment to the Commodity Credit Corporation bill, was voted down, 46 to 29.

The Soldier Vote

The so-called soldiers' vote bills are now "in conference." The Senate, after three weeks of debate, passed both a "states rights" bill, S. 1285, as amended by the House of Representatives, with an amendment containing a Federal ballot plan, and then passed separately the Federal ballot plan, S. 1612, sponsored by Senators Theodore F. Green, of Rhode Island, and Scott W. Lucas, of Illinois.

The House had earlier passed, by a heavy majority, the bill providing only for the distribution of state ballots. It had just signified its disagreement with the Senate's amendment providing for a Federal ballot, when it appointed conferees.

The Senate by a small majority favors the Green-Lucas bill, which has been considerably changed from its first draft. It would create a War Ballot Commission, which would distribute, through the co-operation of the Secretaries of War and Navy, Federal ballots to all members of the armed services, said ballot to be void if a state ballot form is received and used by the absentee. The Secre-

* From *Information Service.* Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Condensed with permission.

taries of War and Navy, and many others, have indicated their preference for a Federal ballot in the interest of economy and simplification.

Social Security

Comprehensive Plan

It seems probable that amendments to the Social Security Act will be considered during 1944. Interest centers upon the comprehensive social security bill, H.R. 2861, sponsored by Representative John D. Dingell, of Michigan, and the companion S. 1161, introduced by Senators Robert F. Wagner, of New York, and James E. Murray, of Montana. The purposes are in general accord with the proposals made last year by the National Resources Planning Board and embrace also the general recommendations made by the Social Security Board. The bill is backed by the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.

The bill would liberalize present provisions, bring new groups under coverage, nationalize the present system of unemployment insurance to provide for expenses of both medical and hospital care. For the maximum benefits, under all types of coverage, employers and employees both would pay a tax of 6 per cent on wages, up to $3,000 per year per individual. Old age and survivors' insurance and unemployment compensation would be extended to include the employees of nonprofit institutions, including colleges and Churches. Exceptions are made with respect to clergymen and members of religious orders.

Since social security measures involve the raising of revenue they must originate in the House and be considered by the Committee on Ways and Means (Representative Robert L. Doughton, of North Carolina, Chairman).

System for Tax Exempt Agencies

In Church circles there has been interest lately in a recent bill, H.R. 3204, introduced by Representative Walter A. Lynch, of New York. The bill amends the Social Security Act and provides for the establishment by the Federal Government of a system of old age and survivors' insurance for employees of religious, charitable, educational, and certain other tax-exempt organizations. Beginning with the year 1945, every tax-exempt organization that is an employer would be required to secure Federal old age and survivors' insurance for its employees. The premiums received from the employers and employees would constitute a special fund for these employees under trustees, of which the Secretary of the Treasury would be the managing trustee. The term "tax" is not used in the bill. The premium rates for the years 1945-1947 would be one per cent of wage and salary, up to $3,000 per year per individual, to be paid by both employer and employee. For 1948-1950 the rate would be one and a half

per cent for each. After 1950 the rate would be two per cent. Exceptions are made with respect to clergymen, members of religious orders, agricultural labor, and certain types of domestic and casual labor.

Credits for Armed Services

Members of the armed services would receive credits under the old age and survivors' insurance provisions of the Social Security Act, and "unemployment allowances" after demobilization, under the terms of S. 1545, introduced by Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, for himself and Senators Walter F. George, of Georgia, and Bennett Champ Clark, of Missouri.

Compulsory Civilian Service

President Roosevelt, in his annual message on the state of the Union, recommended a system of compulsory civilian service in industry, provided there would also be a "realistic" tax law; continuation of renegotiation of costs of war contracts; floors under prices of farm products; subsidies to roll back consumer prices; and re-enactment of the price-control and economic stabilization measures.

Thereupon Senator Warren R. Austin, of Vermont, introduced "an amendment in the nature of a substitute" for S. 666, his earlier measure. The revised bill thus has the same number. Representative James W. Wadsworth, of New York, introduced the companion measure, H.R. 3944.

This would provide a system of civilian war service "with the aid of the Selective Service System." Women between the ages of 18 and 50, and men between the ages of 18 and 65 would become liable for this service. Provision is made for appeals on the ground of undue hardship and certain exceptions are also made as in the case of ministers of religion. Conscientious Objectors and "First Day Observers" would be assigned to such service "as is not in conflict with their religious convictions." Present indications are that neither the House nor the Senate Military Affairs Committee will report the bill out.

Labor

Fair Employment Practices

A fair employment practices bill, H. R. 3986, has been introduced. The bill has been referred to the Committee on Labor, Representative Mary T. Norton, of New Jersey, Chairman, by Representative Thomas E. Scanlon, of Pennsylvania. The purpose of the bill is "to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry."

Prohibition of Strikes

A new antistrike bill, H.R. 3962, introduced by Representative Howard W. Smith, of Virginia,

(Continued on page 28)

Forecast — Christian S

The program of Social Education and Action for 1944-1945 finds its emphases in areas of social concern which are high-lighted by the war but which because of their implications for the social and spiritual welfare of men, women, and children are a continuing challenge to the Churches of every community. The program at this time is of necessity tentative, but in the following outline the scope of the emphases can be seen and their demanding pressure action can be felt.

I. Political Action

Social Progress for May will be devoted to this major emphasis—political action—and will constitute an acceptable guide for use throughout the year. 1944, an election year when men and women will be elected to office and momentous decisions on national and foreign policy will be made, brings into sharp focus this expression of Christian faith in action. Many throughout the Church share the conviction that political irresponsibility and neglect on the part of Christian men and women is responsible for much that Christians deplore in public life. Political action, they believe, is not a temporary or occasional responsibility but must be a matter of continuous concern, since every application of Christian principle to problems of social life must be supported by appropriate political action. Certainly the thoughtful exercise of the franchise and the frequent use of the right of petition and all that goes with them are a measure of the importance that we, as citizens, give to Christian principles as the basis for community and national life. A handbook, *Political Action for Christians*, to be issued later, will carry information, opinions, inspiration, and program resources. Each Church and Church group should plan to give time during the spring and summer, or in early fall at the latest, to education for Christian action in this important election year.

II. World Order

It may be said truthfully that the Presbyterian Church was first among the denominations in a field program on the Christian basis for a righteous peace. Just five months after Pearl Harbor and one month after the Delaware Conference, a series of such conferences, largely attended, were held under the sponsorship of the Department of Social Education and Action and several of our seminaries—Princeton, Western, McCormick, and San Anselmo.

Subsequently, emphasis has been given this theme principally through interdenominational efforts in which the Presbyterian Church has fully cooperated. While interdenominational efforts must continue to receive whole-

hearted support, the times now call for another denominational program on a wider scale than that of two years ago. It must be designed to achieve two objectives: (1) to enlist not only the leadership but the membership of our Churches; and (2) to assure appropriate action as the outcome of the study. Plans for such a campaign among Presbyterian Churches during the coming year have been under consideration for some time. These are now advanced to the point where an early announcement will be made.

III. Industrial Relations

While the Department of Social Education and Action made, on behalf of the Church, the study of industrial relations described elsewhere in this issue, obviously this is a subject that should be studied and discussed throughout the Churches. That this would be the outcome of the report, as adopted by the General Assembly, has been the thought of the Department from the beginning. Two things are of paramount importance: One is that the study and report be available for reading throughout the Church and in a form that will promote its study and discussion in Church meetings and groups. The second is that the conference method followed by the group that made the study be recognized as lending itself to infinite duplication in communities throughout the country. To foster such a program, materials to be announced later will be provided.

IV. Social Tensions

"How can Christian young people promote better interfaith and interracial relations?" Have young people between 14 and 18 years of age in your Church entered the essay contest on this question? If not, there is still a month before the contest closes. Write at once to the Department of Social Education and Action for a packet of helpful materials provided without cost by the National Conference on Christians and Jews, co-sponsor with the Department in this contest.

Essays of 800 to 1,000 words should reach the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania, on or before May 1. Manuscripts will be judged by a committee whose chairman is Rev. Floyd G. McGuire, pastor, Larchmont Presbyterian Church, Larchmont, New York.

One of your young people may receive one of the awards to the ten winners —in each case a $15 scholarship to a Presbyterian Summer Conference. But

apart from awards it is important to the future that our young people understand now what being a Christian demands in justice and friendliness toward other racial and cultural groups.

Interracial and intercultural relations are widely viewed throughout the Church as perhaps the most acute major social issue that confronts us because of its world-wide implications and its immediacy as a community and national problem. It is, therefore, placed among the major emphases in the 1944-1945 program. The importance of the theme calls for the full resources for effective study and action. These are being brought together for the Department through the counsel of a group of educators, pastors, laymen, and executives, who are giving national religious leadership in this field.

V. Community Co-operation Churches and social-welfare workers are present in every wartime community. These need to discover each other in better understanding and co-operation, so that together they may meet such problems as juvenile delinquency and the newcomers to the community. In developing this emphasis during the coming year, the Department will work closely with the Department of Wartime Community Service of the Board of Christian Education and with the War Service Unit of the Board of National Missions.

Responsibility for the returning veteran and his re-establishment in the civilian life of the community, already present in wartime, will grow to avalanche proportions with the cessation of hostilities. This social and community need will call for his and our best joint efforts. TODAY AND TOMORROW, a new series of leaflets for *Soldiers and Civilians*, will be issued on the fifteenth of each month. The leaflets will be reprints of articles that have appeared in SOCIAL PROGRESS, chosen for this wider distribution because of their special interest and value in helping the soldiers and civilians, to whom they are addressed, to think and act together on the social issues and conditions of today's and tomorrow's world.

The following titles suggest their scope:*

The Church in the Peacemaking, by Paul S. Heath. Ready April 15.

Germany and the Future in Europe, by the Bishop of Chichester. Ready May 15.

War's Impact on Labor, by John Dunlop. Ready June 15.

Five Essentials of Brotherhood, by H. Richard Rasmussen. Ready July 15.

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* Leaflets 3½" x 6". Prices: 25 copies, free; $1.00 a hundred. Please order from any Presbyterian Book Store, remittance with order.

Secure Full Employment

A Report

The following report is the second of six, under the general title "Six Battles for Peace," prepared and issued by the United Christian Council for Democracy, an organization of six unofficial Church social action groups of which the Presbyterian Fellowship for Social Action is a member. We present this stimulating and provocative article in order that Presbyterians may become acquainted with this pioneer group, understand its purposes, and be stimulated by its thinking.

NEXT to winning the war the American people are agreed most on preventing the return of mass unemployment. Reports from every front confirm the soldiers who wrote: "The big worry of the vet is whether he is going to have a job when he gets home." The Twentieth Century Fund Survey of 137 agencies at work on postwar problems, summing up the voice of our people, said first, "We want no more depression; we want work." We also know that the President was right in saying, "People who are hungry and are out of a job are the stuff of which dictators are made."

Yet we are farther today from winning full employment than we were two years ago. Then we were going to hold the line against inflation; today that line is breaking and if it goes, mass unemployment comes.

The Voice of Religion

Religious statements on postwar aims issued since we entered the shooting phase of the war proclaim the right of all men to work and obtain a livelihood. Some affirm the corresponding duty to work and the obligation of the community to provide for all the opportunity for socially useful work. These affirmations are based upon law—divine and natural—and upon the Gospel principles of the equal right of all to the development of personality and the need for a brotherly community.

Government Proposals

During this period the Government set up the same objectives. It recognized that a durable peace depends as much upon economic security as upon a workable form of international organization. Lend-lease agreements call for mutual expansion of production and employment. In his message to Congress, January 7, 1942, the President defined the Atlantic Charter's "Freedom from Want" as meaning, among other things, "Full employment for all who want to work." He put this first in his Social Security Program, March 10, 1943, and the first article in his Economic Bill of Rights, recently submitted to Congress is "the

right to a useful and remunerative job."

In November, 1940, the President requested Congress to provide for a study of postwar defense planning. The National Resources Planning Board was set up as a clearinghouse and co-ordinating center for Government and private agencies, without authority to initiate plans. In its report of January, 1942, it made full employment the first objective of postwar planning and suggested the outlines of a program. It showed that the necessary production could be reached, but it said that this required teamwork between government, business, workers, farmers.

But winning full employment takes more than the expression of religious principles or the shaping of a technical procedure. It is a political battle. Early in 1943 Congress cut off the appropriation for the NRPB, and its offices closed last August.

Thereupon, identical resolutions were passed in Senate and House calling for special committees to plan for reconstruction. Nothing happened. Speaker Rayburn is now calling for a fact-finding committee to be aided by representatives of business, labor, and agriculture. Again "too little and too late." It is action that is needed.

Business Acts

The killing of national planning for full employment was accomplished by the political representatives of the business group whose policy, expounded by Chairman George of the Senate Finance Committee before the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, April 4, 1943, is to attack official planning for full employment as more New Deal deficit spending and to insist that business can do the job if tax laws are revised downward to permit private enterprise to function.

A doubt about full employment appears in a pamphlet of the Brookings Institution, a research organization which is a part of the brain trust of liberal big business. It states: "In a dynamic society full employment does not imply complete employment of the labor force. Several millions would, for one reason or another, not be working at a given moment."

By the Brookings estimate "the normal unemployment" of our present economy a year after the war will be 3-4 million. Sudden collapse, or expansion and depression, will leave us with 10-15 million idle.

What Labor Wants

Labor has a different course of action. The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. are agreed on the goal of full employment. Presidents Green and Murray declare that America's first postwar objective should be jobs for all and that management and labor should work together to give all the people economic security and a better standard of living. Sidney Hillman, head of the Political Action Committee, C. I. O., recently

pointed out that "only full employment can assure farmers a market for their produce, and business—big and small—customers for its products." President Patton, of the Farmer's Union, sets forth two main requisites for full employment of the farming population: one, the maximum use of all human and material resources now available in the United States, meshing with a similar program in other nations and between nations; the other, a national income resulting from such maximum use, in the neighborhood of 200 billions, with full employment at fair wages, salaries, and incomes for a labor force ranging up to 62.5 millions in agriculture, trade, and transportation.

Labor is agreed on the principle of joint planning by government, business, labor, and farmers and on the need for a central agency, co-ordinating all Government departments, to handle reconversion and carry out plans for full employment.

Present Needs

Meantime, disabled and unemployed veterans are with us, facing a planless situation. Over a million have been demobilized since Pearl Harbor. Every week 7,000 more are returning to civil life. Industrial demobilization is also beginning, adding to the unemployed. Two hundred returned soldiers are already on the relief rolls in New York City; 12,000 more have appealed to veterans' organizations to get action on their cases. They cannot afford the delay from the lack of co-ordination between the six Federal agencies handling the matter.

What to Do

The first thing is to refuse to change our objective. In speeches, resolutions, letters, conversation let the goal of full employment stand out clear. It is still possible to prevent the corrosion of spirit, the breaking of family life, the menace of Fascism that follows enforced idleness. The remedy is a continuing program of public works, social services, and cultural development.

The President has just proposed a national system of highways to give continuous employment to the shifting number whom private enterprise cannot hire. The objection made to this is the cost in taxation. Such a program is practicable if upper-bracket incomes are reduced to a moderate luxury level by taxation and by an economic policy of low prices, low profits, and large output.

The next point to win in the battle against unemployment is a central, co-ordinating organization for the reconversion of wartime industry and agriculture to peacetime needs. The question is not, To plan or not to plan? but, Who is to plan and for what purposes?

Democratic planning for economic security and the abundant life is the instrument for the realization of our religious ideals. Then let the people of the Churches co-operate fully in planning for full employment.

Teen Trouble

By S. Edward Young *

THE term "juvenile delinquency" is no doubt a lawyers' term. For our purpose a much more realistic designation is "spiritual casualties among children."

Although statistics vary considerably, juvenile delinquency is on the rise, creating a problem serious enough to challenge our Churches. Somewhere in our midst today is a boy of fifteen who will be elected President of the United States in 1988, a girl who will be tomorrow's Marian Anderson, and some boy who will be tomorrow's Henry Kaiser. Today is our chance to form character and ideals adequate to this responsibility.

To combat juvenile delinquency, a wide-awake community can do a number of things. It is important that a study be made of your own community to discover what taverns exist and which are employing high-school girls; what stores are selling marijuana cigarettes; what bowling alleys are employing small boys until all hours of the night. A "know your community" program is something for your Church Social Education and Action Committee to undertake. It is dangerous for a Church to take a stand in a community without knowing actual facts. Knowing your community would include finding out from the police department whether they have policemen and policewomen especially trained in dealing with juvenile problems.

It is peculiarly the problem of the Church to institute some kind of program on the ideal relationship between boys and girls. Almost every social agency expert today considers this lack of sex education a contributing factor to our juvenile problem and is distressed that the Churches, which should be at the forefront of this education, are often giving it a wide berth.

There are many who feel that our public educational system is putting the children too deeply into the war effort, so that more attention is paid to the war than to the normal educational program. This causes the child to feel that he is living in a peculiar period in which all restraints are off and normal standards do not apply.

Every community should have an adequate recreational program. Recreation is not, of course, the entire answer to the problem of delinquency, but it is a vital part of the answer. When the war started in England the places where boys and

* Special Representative in War Community Service, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

girls used to meet were conscripted for the use of soldiers. Thereupon juvenile delinquency rapidly rose. The English then turned back the places to the youth, and the juvenile delinquency rate decreased. One community in western New York organized a boys' club and by actual statistics reduced delinquency in the first year by 75 per cent.

In a number of cities when a boy gets into trouble with the courts, the Y. M. C. A. or some other agency goes to the boy's community and organizes his gang into a club, and, in some neighborhood meeting place, teaches arts and crafts, airplane-modeling, and other kinds of leisure-time recreation. Such a club reaches the boy where he is and uses his gang interest.

Most communities, although they have some kind of program for boys, are nowhere nearly so thorough in their program for girls, and girls are America's problem today. For the teen-age girl, nothing is so effective as the "teen town" club.

Where teen town clubs are actually meeting the juvenile problem, while the movement may be sponsored by the Church or Y. M. C. A., the club occupies a former tavern, garage, or store. Thorough-going publicity must be given in order to attract the various gangs of underprivileged children. This does not make it the kind of club that some elements in our Church have in mind, but it is a club that actually fulfills the function for which it is organized.

Publicity should not mention the term "juvenile delinquency." One teen town club, opening on last New Year's Eve, widely publicized that its purpose was to reduce juvenile delinquency and thus labeled those who came as potential delinquents. The city manager of a Middle Western city, riding on a bus; overheard one boy call to another, "Hello, J.D.," and that boy reply, "Hello, J.D. yourself." More boys came into the bus and each was greeted by "Hello, J.D." The city manager's curiosity aroused, he inquired of a boy near him, "How do so many of you have the same name—J.D.?" The boy replied, "Oh, we are the juvenile delinquents the country is talking so much about."

A well-organized community today should have a city-wide recreational director whose function is to determine the needs and resources of the community and to arrange programs for every age group. Churches can co-operate in such a program by creating sentiment for a city-wide director and opening the facilities of their Churches to him. It is also important that Churches support their Boy and Girl Scout programs and help to supply volunteers—a problem aggravated by war movement.

"Never have so many children depended upon so many people for their chance to grow in safety, strength, and security."

Sanctuary

Easter—1944

How young He was, how short His time on earth!
A pulse beat in the centuries, a breath
Between the starlit hour of His birth
And that strange darkened day of death.

Yet had those years not gone their swift, sure way—
Had their significance been lost to men,
There would be darkness on the land today,
No faith would lift, no heart could hope again.

For thirty-three brief years that His feet trod
The earthly roads for us—we thank thee, God.

Grace Noll Crowell.

Meditation (*the people in quiet meditation may thus prepare their hearts for the worship of this Holy Week and the Easter season*):

"And the multitudes that went before him, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

"And Pilate saith unto them, Behold, the man! They cried out, saying, Crucify him, crucify him! They took Jesus unto the place called in Hebrew Golgotha: where they crucified him. . . . And the people stood beholding. . . . And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

"He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed."

"Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is risen . . .; and lo, he goeth before you. . . . Fear not; I am the first and the last, and the Living one; . . . behold, I am alive for evermore. . . . Hallelujah: Let us rejoice and be exceeding glad."

Incarnate Son of God, with all those of all centuries who have loved and trusted thee we sing, "Hosanna in the highest!" To thee we open the portals of our hearts. Enter and dwell therein we beseech thee. Save us, we pray, from the hypocrisy that sings, "Hosanna," in the temple, and cries, "Crucify him," in the market place. Deliver us from the treason that boasts loyalty in the upper room, and then makes cowardly denial in the judgment hall. Thou art our King. Rule over us in all the concerns and circumstances of our lives; sanctify our friendships and our attitudes toward all mankind. In thy name we pray. Amen. [*Adapted.*]

The Invocation:

Almighty God, our Father, who art not the God of the dead but of the living, we give thee joyful thanks for him who is the Resurrection and the Life. Grant that we may grow aware of him, as our eternal Friend and Master, alive forevermore. By the power of his resurrection may we rise out of selfishness and sin into a diviner fellowship with thyself. Lead us in our worshiping this day. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. [*Adapted.*]

Let There Be No Bitterness

"There must be no bitterness in the reconstructed world. No matter what we have undergone and suffered, we must try and forgive those who injured us and remember only the lesson gained thereby."

Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

God, bless my enemy!
Thou seest I have lost all power
To help this child of Thine:
The hour
Of my extremity has come;
Blind, halt, and dumb
I stand before his needs.
Unless
Thou hast the patience still to bless
Us both with sudden sight.
We are both lost—
God, could it be that he is there
Struggling within his soul to pray
For me—his enemy—today?

*Margueritte Harmon Bro.**

An Act of Recollection and Committal:

Let us as Christians become conscious of ourselves as a fellowship pledged to God and to one another to stand and contend for international and social justice; to set little store by our possessions and much by our responsibilities; . . . and daily to commit ourselves, our country, and all mankind to God in the prayer our Lord has taught us.

Let all of us spend five minutes every day in this act of recollection and committal. The prayer will be to our Father—my Father who loves me, but the Father also of all other men. Let us be sure that the double thought is always in our minds.

Then every week—*on Sunday* let us think especially of the words, "Hallowed be thy name," picturing what the world would be like if that came true throughout all nations; *on Monday*—"Thy kingdom come"; *on Tuesday*—"Thy will be done"; *on Wednesday* we will pray especially for daily bread—not mine or yours, but our daily bread, the need of all God's children; *on Thursday* for forgiveness—as we forgive; *on Friday* for freedom from unnecessary temptation and deliverance from the evil which has a hold on us; *and on Saturday* we will remember for whose glory we ask all this and in whose power we can accomplish it.

If there is a great fellowship of people really praying like this, they will transform our country, for real prayer means real purpose and wins the strength to accomplish it. . . . Our hope for a new world is in Him who declares from the throne of heaven, "Behold, I make all things new."

*William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury.***

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* From *Every Day a Prayer*. Willett, Clark & Company. Used with permission.

** From a broadcast "In God's Hands." The Forward Movement of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 412 Sycamore Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Workshop

Heifers for Europe

The following adult discussion outline, prepared by the Service Committee of the Church of the Brethren, Elgin, Illinois, from whom literature and further information may be secured, is presented here as a suggestive example of practical participation in world reconstruction. Many other service projects might be developed on similar lines.

I. *Interest Project*

Many Churches, youth groups, families, and individuals across the country, becoming interested in this project, are buying calves and arranging for their keep. A Civilian Public Service man has been assigned to keep records and give guidance. Newspapers across the country have given publicity to the movement.

II. *Why Heifers for Europe?*

1. Europe needs milk for her undernourished children and youth. One cow will feed ten or twelve children. Europe has no money to buy cows.

2. It is the spirit of the Church of the Brethren to "feed the hungry." The Brethren have always responded generously to needs arising from famine, flood, war, and persecution.

3. This project will cultivate the spirit of international friendship. We believe in doing good, not harm. Voluntary sharing of the necessities of life is the basis of world brotherhood.

4. The project has real educational values. Everyone who has anything to do with a growing heifer may find his or her interest in European peoples growing. It is a well-known fact that we love people more for the things we do for them than for the things they do for us.

III. *How Can We Help?*

1. Raise money to buy calves.

2. Turn money over to local Brethren Service Committee to buy the calf and provide for care and feed.

3. Study the needs of people of other lands. Talk about them and pray for them. See that the heifer is ready by the time transportation is available.

4. Report your experience to others so that they may join the movement.

IV. *For the Discussion*

1. Do you think lend-lease should be used to feed peoples of other nations?

2. What is the Church's obligation?

From the October 16, 1943, Gospel Messenger, *the weekly magazine of the Church of the Brethren.*

On Selecting Discussion Topics

In Midland, Michigan, a small industrial city, home of the Dow Chemical Company, the First Presbyterian Church maintains a discussion group for young business people. Attendance at meetings runs between 50 and 60 for discussion programs, and up to 100 for social events. The group is composed of chemists, secretaries, and schoolteachers with a scattering of employees of local business firms. Two supper meetings are held each month.

Last fall the Executive Committee, working with the pastor, prepared a questionnaire as an aid in selecting discussion topics for the year. Debatable propositions, which fell into three natural divisions —personal, political, and religious—were listed, and the 60 members present at the following meeting were asked to answer, "true," "uncertain," or "false" to each proposition. The results were tabulated and reported to the group as a whole. Members then counted off by three's and divided into discussion circles, each appointing a chair-

man and secretary. The results obtained by the whole group were analyzed in these discussion circles, and topics for the year were recommended with reasons for the selections. Below are the first and second choices made by each group:

The group reporting on personal problems said that the great uncertainty as regards war marriages justified discussion on this problem. All felt the urgency of the issue. The Government's responsibility in the postwar world in providing jobs was thought to have the broadest implications of the other issues, since on this question group opinion was most sharply divided.

The group reporting on political problems got to arguing about the national debt, and after exploring the issue reversed the decided opinion expressed by the whole group and put this question as their first choice. The second choice concerned lack of business developments in our town—an immediate local problem. Their third choice would have been the question of incentive income.

The group dealing with religious problems argued that the conviction, almost unanimously expressed, that Christianity should be pushed as a world religion justified further exploration of means for accomplishing the end desired. They felt that the other questions were matters of personal opinion. If they had to make a second choice it would be "Life is unplanned and a chance affair," since opinion was divided on this question.

	True	Uncertain	False
Personal			
1. War marriages are worth the price.	6	38	16
2. The Government must see that there are jobs for all in the postwar world.	24	17	17
Political			
1. The national debt need not be paid.	7	8	39
2. Civic leaders are responsible for lack of business development in our town.	23	18	10
Religious			
1. We ought to push Christianity as the world religion.	42	10	4
2. Life is unplanned and a chance affair.	14	17	24

The questionnaire included the following general questions for the guidance of the Executive Committee. The tabulations on these questions seem of such vital importance to the pastor in shaping his work that he includes them in this statement:

The writer, John A. Gardner, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Midland, Mich., would be interested to receive reports on the answers given to these questions by other groups. Why not try them on your young people's organization?

	True	Uncertain	False
General			
My chief concerns are personal.	22	11	20
I feel a real need for religion.	48	9	2
My chief concern is how to make a living.	13	9	35
I don't know how to make conversation.	18	11	29
Programs on popularity, conversation, games, sports, hobbies, et cetera, appeal to me more than current events and social problem discussions.	26	14	19

The Congressional Mill

(Continued from page 15)

would prohibit "strikes, slowdowns, or stoppages of work in any industry or enterprise at any time, for any reason or for any purpose, during the continuation of hostilities in the present war." In case of a strike or stoppage, any local labor union involved would cease to be entitled to "the status of a representative . . . organization under the National Labor Relations Act."

Postwar Planning

Bill S. 1718 contains the recommendations of the Senate's Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia, Chairman, that an office to facilitate reconversion of industry be established by statute, under a director to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. (Report 539, Part II, 78th Congress, 2d Session.) The committee recommends rapid reconversion, arbitration of disputes, and prompt relaxation of wartime public controls of industry. A unit in the Office of War Mobilization, under the direction of Bernard M. Baruch, has presented a plan for reconversion.

The House Committee on Economic Policy and Planning, with Representative William M. Colmer, of Mississippi, as chairman has been appointed, and Secretary of the Interior Ickes in his annual report has stated that plans have been completed for a large program of public works, which could be started "thirty days after victory." However, there have been no appropriations for such public works.

Education

Adult Education

Senator Elbert D. Thomas, of Utah, has introduced S. 1670, to provide grants-in-aid, to be administered by the Office of Education, for a public adult education program separate from but supplemental to the cooperative agricultural extension service. The educational program would be largely for the benefit of persons returning from war service and those dismissed from war industries. Grants would begin at $8,000,000 a year in 1945, and increase to $20,000,000 annually by 1948. The bill is referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, of which Senator Thomas is chairman.

Members of Armed Services

S. 1509, introduced by Senator Thomas, of Utah, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, would make available $1,000,000,000 for payments to continue the education and training of selected members of the armed services and the Merchant Marine who have been honorably discharged. All persons selected would be entitled to one year of education and training. A limited number would be entitled to grants for three years.

Liquor Control

Wartime Prohibition

A subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee has held brief hearings on H.R. 2082, introduced by Representative Joseph R. Bryson, of South Carolina. For the purpose of reducing absenteeism in essential war industries, the bill prohibits importation, exportation, manufacture, sale or transportation of beverages containing more than one half of one per cent alcohol, except as required for industrial or medical use.

Prohibition Near Camps

Senator Lee O'Daniel's S. 860, referred to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, Senator Robert R. Reynolds, Chairman, empowers the Secretaries of War or Navy to prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors, including beer, ale, and wine, at or within any military base or camp.

Foreign Relations

U.N.R.R.A.

The House recently passed H. J. Res. 192 authorizing an appropriation of $1,350,000,000, equivalent to one per cent of the national income during 1943, as the contribution of the United States to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. As we go to press, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved the measure.

About Books

Postwar Plans of the United Nations, by Lewis L. Lorwin. Twentieth Century Fund. $2.50.

This survey, made by Dr. Lorwin at the request of the Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund, is a factual report on plans put forward by responsible governmental and private groups in each country for that country's own internal postwar development. Separate sections of the report deal with plans of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, Canada, Australia, Latin America, Governments-in-Exile, India, New Zealand, and others.

All the United Nations, the report says, have in common the postwar aim to "improve the economic and social condition of the mass of the people." In the advanced industrial countries, especially in the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations, and western Europe, emphasis is on "full employment" and "social security." The Soviet Union and the industrially less developed countries stress the idea of "higher living standards" through more production and greater productivity.

While there is general agreement on the basic goals, the report points out, the plans of the individual nations show wide differences in the governmental and economic systems by which they hope to reach these goals, "especially with regard to the role of private and public enterprise in the postwar economy."

The survey finds that "the countries of the United Nations fall into three broad groups. The first group includes the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and some countries of western Europe. Most official and unofficial plans of these countries assume that private enterprise will remain the dominant form of economic activity.

"The second group includes some countries in central Europe, a number of Latin American countries, and China. The plans of these countries assign a large and permanent place to state enterprise and to other forms of collective organization.

"The third group consists of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with its complete nationalization of economic life and centralized planning methods."

Dr. Lorwin reports that among the United Nations "there is almost complete agreement in all plans on one point, namely, that the government assume the task of providing employment, if and when private enterprise fails to do so."

"The chief limitations of current postwar plans," the report indicates "are the conflicting elements in the proposals of the different countries and their lack of coordination with plans for international economic and social organization. The capacity of the United Nations to reconcile these conflicts in their domestic postwar plans will determine the degree of their success in building a better postwar world for all." T.C.F.

Group Experience—The Democratic Way, by Bernice Baxter and Rosaland Cassidy. Association Press. $2.50.

New Schools for a New Culture, by C. M. MacConnell, E. O. Melby, C. O. Arndt. Harpers. $2.50.

Here are the reports of two experiments in education for democracy. Both of these have been written by educators who have participated in the projects described.

The first is the description of experiences in group leadership among young people in summer camps and other "face to face" groups, written to help leaders in guiding youth toward responsible citizenship in a democracy through group experience.

Teachers, social workers, and parents will find encouragement and direction in this book.

New Schools for a New Culture tells the encouraging story of a pioneer experiment in high-school education conducted since 1937 at the New School, Evanston, Illinois, a project which has held the interest of many of the country's leading educators since its beginning.

The authors contend that public education has failed to meet the democratic challenge by providing the educational environment and teaching emphasis essential to the very existence of all democracy. The book is the account of the experiment carried on by the New School to explore, at the secondary-school level, "the values of democratic teaching processes, and to establish habits and attitudes" which produce good citizens for America. E.G.R.

The Promise, by Pearl S. Buck. John Day. $2.50.

The story of China at war, begun in *Dragon Seed,* continues in this tragic recital of the retreat from Burma, written by Pearl S. Buck, with the same power, simplicity, and penetration that characterized her earlier novels of Chinese life. Ling Tan, the farmer, and his family, who were engulfed in the Japanese assault on Nanking, are the familiar characters.

This story begins after the "Men of Ying" (the British) have been defeated by the enemy and the "Men of Mei" (the Americans) have been attacked at Pearl Harbor. Ling Tan, living on in his old desolate home, still believes in "The Promise" of foreign aid against the enemy. But his faith is sorely taxed, for how, now, can that promise be kept? Leaving Ling Tan and his wife behind, the action moves on with his youngest son, now called Sheng, who has become an officer in the Army of Free China, ordered, against the will and judgment of its own commander, to support the British in Burma. The lovely and Americanized Mayling, whom Sheng loves but does not fully understand, has won from the "Ones Above" an appointment to serve with the army also, in charge of women nurses. And, amid the frightful experiences of the Burma retreat, the tempestuous romance of these two is played out.

This is a skillfully written and deeply moving story. Its main theme is not romance but rather the desperate need and seeming impossibility of full understanding between the Chinese people and their Western allies. In the conversations between the sophisticated Mayling, who, nevertheless, understands the mind of her own people, and a young British officer, the author illuminates this sore problem. With the battle to reopen the Burma Road, this question is once more thrown into bold relief and, with the approaching liberation of other peoples of Asia now under Japanese domination, will press more insistently for solution. The reader may not agree with the author's point of view, but he will have to come to terms with the question of a basis of mutual respect and understanding on which "The Promise" can be redeemed. E.G.R.

A Bell for Adano, by John Hershey. Knopf. $2.50.

This is a unique book in at least two respects. It is the initial novel of a young newspaper correspondent, whose thrilling book, *Into the Valley,* the story of our forces on Guadalcanal, was war reporting at its best.

In the second place, *A Bell for Adano* is the first novel to be published about the present Allied military occupation in Italy, where the author spent last summer with our troops in Sicily. The story, based on fact, is nevertheless pure fiction.

The principal character of this novel is Major Joppolo, an American officer of Italian descent, appointed the senior civil-affairs officer for the town of Adano in Italy, following the American occupation. Among the problems with which he is immediately confronted, one which might

seem unimportant to the average American is seized upon by Major Joppolo as significant. For over seven hundred years the people of Adano have been guided in all their activities by a huge bell. It had awakened them in the morning, called them to worship, told them when to eat and when to go to bed. The Fascists had seized the bell and ordered it melted to make bullets. Major Joppolo determined to have the bell replaced. How he did it is the basis of the story.

A Bell for Adano is great fiction. It will live long after the war is a horrible memory. THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Burma Surgeon, by Gordon S. Seagrave. Norton. $3.00.

Here is the story of a missionary-surgeon whose dauntless courage, unfailing resourcefulness, and unfaltering loyalty to his native and white associates is one of the really thrilling chapters in the records of American participation in this world-wide war. The story begins back in 1922, when, with his wife and young daughter, Gordon S. Seagrave arrived in Burma. "All I wanted," he says, "was plenty of jungle and lots of sick people to treat—preferably with surgery." His wish was amply gratified, and through the intervening years, with amazing competence and imagination, he carried on his beloved profession. Then the war came to Burma. Just behind the battle lines, under falling bombs, in the glare of burning towns, and along the road of the fateful retreat to India, this intrepid surgeon worked with the armies, serving native and white alike.

The story is simply and frankly told and the entire recital is pervaded with a driving enthusiasm which gets things done in the face of seemingly insuperable obstacles. Although the book was written in the midst of war, it is not primarily a war book. Dr. Seagrave's interest in the midst of battle remained the interest of his first days in Burma: "Lots of sick people to treat—preferably with surgery." E.G.R.

Prayers of the Spirit, by John Wallace Suter. Harpers. $1.00.

Here are one hundred prayers "for private or public worship and devotion, especially appropriate for wartime needs." They are contemporary in spirit and wording. There is not a purple word in the lot of them. In form they are what written prayer should be. Most of them are collects. There are prayers for morning and evening, the Church and its activities, brotherhood, the life of the spirit, the Church year, sickness and death, the nation and its armed forces. There are eight almost perfect little prayers based on the Beatitudes. There are prayers as unexpected as the one for obscure workers on whom victory depends, and another "For Joy in Others' Happiness." All have been written by the custodian of the *Book of Common Prayer* and author of *The Book of English Collects.* After you have paid fifty cents for *The Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory,* this is the next book to get for contemporary written prayer at its best.

ELIOT PORTER

Amen, Amen, by S. A. Constantino, Jr. Harpers. $2.00.

This is a book about religion and ethics written by a young officer in the Navy Air Corps. He talks to young men and women in the armed forces in a young way about the things they talk most about—religion, sex, and money. As one reads this little book, adjectives pop into mind—candid, breezy, youthfully assured, vigorous, blunt. There is nothing "preachy" about this writing. The author writes as a young person who knows the questions that confront young people, who has arrived at a simple and direct answer to these questions for himself and wants to pass on what he has discovered. He does this with common sense and in the vernacular.

One reviewer says: "I read it at a sitting, a good and potent dose." And so many will find it—stimulating and exciting too, if one is young and has questions. E.G.R.

Current Films

These estimates of current films are offered in response to the action of the General Assembly, 1932, requesting such a previewing service to be made available from the Department of Social Education and Action. The following evaluations are based on "Selected Pictures" issued by the National Board of Review. Their inclusion in this listing is not to be construed as recommendation but as the best available comment on current films.

The Song of Bernadette—with Jennifer Jones and William Eythe. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) A faithful adaption of Franz Werfel's widely read book, which poetically relates the story of the mystical experiences of a simple peasant girl of Lourdes in the year 1858. The unusual theme offered a unique challenge, which is set forth in the foreword to the picture: "To those who believe in God, no explanation is necessary. To those who do not believe in God, no explanation is possible." A truly great drama with spiritual appeal regardless of creed. Inspired direction, a cast that merits highest praise, perfect blending of music with photography add to the extraordinary impressions received. **Family.**

Jane Eyre—with Orson Welles, Joan Fontaine. (Twentieth Century-Fox.) Although the story has been considerably condensed, this film version recaptures the dark romantic spirit of the Brontë story of the pitiful child Jane in an orphan school and the love of the adult Jane, a governess, for her moody employer. Shadowy photography, sombre settings, and the director's feeling for Early Victorian literary extravagances provide authentic settings. Orson Welles is in his element as the masterful Rochester; Joan Fontaine is quietly convincing as Jane. The supporting cast is adequate, and altogether the film is a sympathetic and effective portrayal of this popular classic. **Mature—Family.**

The Bridge of San Luis Rey—with Lynn Bari, Akim Tamiroff. (United Artists.) Thornton Wilder's Pulitzer Prize novel reaches the screen for a second time in this elaborate production. Although it deviates somewhat from the original, it makes good and, at times, exciting entertainment. The famous story deals with five people who are killed in the collapse of the bridge at San Luis Rey, and the attempt of a young priest to discover, by an examination of their lives, why God singled them out for this sudden death. Competent production and direction preserve the sixteenth-century atmosphere of Peru, the artificiality of the court, and the religious symbolism of the story. **Mature.**

Passage to Marseille—with Humphrey Bogart, Claude Rains. (Warner Bros.) Based on a novel by Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall, the film tells the story of five convicts who escape from Devil's Island to return to France and fight the Nazis, are picked up by a French ship, help the captain to battle Fascist-minded mutineers, bring down a German plane, and are finally able to join the Free French Air Force in England. The somewhat artificial use of flash backs breaks the continuity and produces the sense of confusion and unreality. Nevertheless, it is powerful drama with tough action, and the acting of an excellent cast makes this film a tribute to the unswerving loyalty of the Free French. **Family.**

In Our Time—with Ida Lupino, Paul Henreid. (Warner Bros.) A forceful and moving story of Poland, beginning with the period just preceding the war and ending with the German invasion. Count Stephen Orvid, scion of an ancient Polish house, has married a young, middle-class English girl. The struggle between the old order and the new is exemplified in the attitude of the count's family toward his bride. Competent acting and direction adds reality and depth to this well-conceived drama. **Mature.**

The Fighting Seabees—with John Wayne and Susan Hayward. (Republic.) A film about the men of the Navy Construction Battalion, their organization, training, and work. The scene of this romantic war drama is a Pacific island. The action covers two exciting battles in which the Seabees make spectacular use of their equipment and weapons against the invading Japanese forces. **Family.**

The Sullivans—with Ann Baxter, Thomas Mitchell. The simple story of five brothers who, inseparable in childhood, enlisted as a group after Pearl Harbor and were lost when the light cruiser *Juneau* was sunk in the first year of the war. But this is not a war film; it is rather a picture of typical family life told with humor, understanding, and pathos. It begins with the Sullivans' childhood in an Iowa town, follows them as young men enlisting to fight for the things with which they grew up, and ends with the naval battle in which they gave their lives. The use of newcomers to the screen in the roles of the brothers adds to the naturalness and sincerity of the film, and the production throughout is sensitive and intelligent. **Family.**

A Guy Named Joe—with Spencer Tracy and Irene Dunne. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.) A film for these times, dealing with the theme of immortality; dramatically thrilling and artistically acceptable. It reveals a daring flier, who, though killed in action, lives on to help new fliers and to impart to his earthly friends and his beloved the true meaning of life. The portrayal of such a theme is difficult, but it is competently handled by the well-chosen cast, who succeed, for the most part, in making the story convincing. **Family—Youth.**

Study and Action

Program Emphases—1944-1945

**Political Action for Christians:* A Handbook, ready May 15. A guide to political action for individual Christian citizens and group leaders. Contains articles on politics as a Christian concern and an analysis of the outstanding issues of the coming election; suggestions of effective political action; "what to do"—before, during, and after election; and program outlines and resources. *10 cents.*

**The Christian Church and World Order—Study II: Nations United for Peace.* A study packet based on six political propositions basic to a just and lasting peace. For study groups and program-building committees. *35 cents.*

**Conversations About Christian World Order.* Five radio scripts for use on local stations. May be used also for a round-table program. *10 cents.*

**Opinion Finder on World Order.* May be used at the beginning of or during group study, or in a meeting preliminary to the organization of a study group, or during study sessions to gauge opinion and stimulate interest. *$1.00 a hundred.*

**Today and Tomorrow.* Leaflets for soldiers and civilians. A new series of small leaflet reprints from SOCIAL PROGRESS, planned to help men and women in the armed forces and at home to "think together now" so that they may "act together now and later" in relation to pressing social problems and issues. The first of this series, *The Church in the Peacemaking,* by Paul S. Heath, will be ready on April 15. *Up to 25 sample copies, free; $1.00 a hundred.*

**Community Clinic, by Wilbur La Roe, Jr.* A guide to the study of your own community in relation to destructive institutions and forces—their activities, their effect on individuals and society, and methods of treatment and cure. *25 cents.*

**Child Care in Wartime:* A Program of Church Co-operation. Outline of child-serving activities needed in the wartime community and how your Church can help. *Free.*

New Tools for Learning About War and Postwar Problems. A guide to films, pamphlets, and recordings for teachers, speakers, and discussion leaders. New Tools for Learning, 280 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y. *Free.*

How to Prevent a Race Riot, by Winifred Raushenbush. A brief and concise statement of this all too frequent expression of unrest and interracial conflict, and a six-point program of preventive measures and emergency action. Important for general information as well as for guidance in actual riot areas. American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y. *10 cents.*

Public Affairs Pamphlets

The Races of Mankind; Why Race Riots?—Lessons from Detroit; When I Get Out Will I Find a Job? Safeguarding Our Civil Liberties; The Smiths and Their Wartime Budgets. Order from Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. *10 cents each.*

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